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Can We Test for Ethical Superiority?

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Chapter XII. By M. K. GANDHI

Thoughts on Permanent Peace in China

By GILBERT REID

Philippine School Books

By FREDERICK STARR

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1926 NUMBER 18

INDIA

Silent amid unbroken silence deep
Of dateless years, in loneliness supreme,
She pondered patiently one mighty theme,
And let the hours, uncounted, by her creep.
The motionless Himalayas, the broad sweep
Of glacial cataracts, great Ganges' stream—
All these to her were but as things that seem,
Doomed all to pass, like phantoms viewed in sleep.

Her history? She has none—scarce a name;
The life she lived is lost in the profound
Of time, which she despised; but nothing mars
The memory which, single, gives her fame:
She dreamed eternal dreams, and from the ground
Still raised her yearning vision to the stars.

Atlantic Monthly. —*Florence Earle Coates.*

It is evident enough that the League of Nations is in a bad way these days. Brazil has all but withdrawn, Spain is preparing to leave, Germany can't get in and doesn't seem to care. Furthermore, there is a degree of confusion, discord and distrust at Geneva which is greater than anything that the world has seen since the so-called peace conference at Versailles. Hitherto, when troubles have appeared, the friends of the League have pooh-poohed discouragement and kept up a good courage. But today even the stoutest-hearted are losing faith. The New York *Times,* for example, has kept up a steady chorus all these fretful years of "all's well," "all's well." It has sustained the League in season and out of season, right or wrong. But the present situation is too much even for the *Times.*

> Mutual distrusts and fears, it says, in its issue of June 10th, such as have haunted international relations for centuries, have taken the place (at Geneva) of a generous hope and confidence new in the history of the world.

When the *Times* speaks this way—as it has never done before in any of the difficulties and failures of the League!—we may be sure that the situation is desperate. That the League of Nations will break up and disappear, however, is very unlikely. The Geneva body is too useful to certain great European powers for anything like this to happen. But here is just the difficulty! The League *is* too useful to certain European powers! It never was in reality a league of nations for purposes of peace at all. On the contrary it was created, after the pattern of the Holy Alliance of ill fame, to carry out the agreements of Versailles and thus to vindicate the victors in the Great War as over against the vanquished. We shall know that the League is something more and better than this when (1) it receives Germany into the council, (2) invites Russia to become a council member, (3) stops kow-towing to Mussolini, (4) abrogates articles X and XVI of the Covenant, and (5) accepts the Outlawry of War as the basis of international peace.

> There is no chance of disarmament in Europe so long as one man lives—and that man is Mussolini. There is no prospect for the League of Nations and its supporters to establish peaceful arbitration between rival nationalists so long as one man scoffs at its visionary ideals—and that man again is Mussolini.

This is the statement of the famous correspondent, Sir Philip Gibbs, as set down in a recent issue of the New York *Herald-Tribune.* There are many obstacles in the way of disarmament and arbitration familiar to us all, but none is quite so serious at this moment as the presence in the seat of power in Italy of the Fascist dictator. There is no secret about his foreign policies. He proposes to extend the borders of Italy, to enlarge her empire, to restore in our time the greatness of ancient Rome. There is only one way to do this, and that is to fight, and Mussolini stands ready and eager to fight the very moment a favorable opportunity appears. His chief objective, both in Europe and in Africa, is France. "It is poor France that will have to give way first to our desires and needs," Sir Philip quotes a distinguished Italian as saying—a fact which has its comical as well as its tragic side, for it means that France has gotten rid of Germany and her Kaiser only to raise up in their stead Italy and her Caesar! But it is not merely France but the whole world which is concerned with this menace, just as the whole world was concerned with the similar menace of Napoleon. While such a man as Mussolini flourishes, with nothing to oppose him but World Courts, Leagues of Nations and armaments, it is something worse than foolish, it is positively pitiful, to talk and dream of peace. Interesting and instructive is it to speculate as to what the Outlawry of War would do with such a megalomaniac. If this outlawry system were established by international agreement, war would be outlawed as a crime. But this would mean that talk of war, preparation for war, would be also criminal. Mussolini at this moment, in other words, would be under the ban of the nations, like a pirate yesterday or a white-slaver today.

How much longer must we wait to banish war and its makers from society?

The adjournment of Congress, which will probably transpire before this paragraph is printed, will end a session which will be remembered for: (1) The complete eclipse and collapse of Vice-President Dawes. All last summer the doughty general was going to do terrible things—revise the Senate rules, curb the long-winded debaters, speed up business, and all that. But within a week after his arrival in Washington, he faded out of the picture. (2) The ineptitude of the Democrats. They had no cohesion, no program, no purpose as a party; whenever the Republicans needed Democratic votes, they were at hand. (3) The triumphant ascendency of Mellon and the bankers, as witnessed by the new Income Tax Bill passed in the interest of the rich. (4) The debt settlements with Belgium, Italy and France—another victory of the bankers at the expense of honor, justice, the rights of the common people, and the peace of Europe. (5) The "wet" drive, with the resulting futile debates, the public hearing with its impressive "dry" testimony, and the dramatic emergence of Senator Borah as the political leader of the Prohibition forces. (6) The entrance of the United States into the World Court—if she *does* enter! Doubt exists, owing to the reservations adopted by the Senate, which may not be acceptable to the signatory powers. It is probable, however, that the nation will be received into the Court on the terms laid down, and certain that we shall then discover that our adherence on these terms means nothing as regards the great issues of war and peace. The Congressional session, as a whole, was an amazingly futile affair. Great issues such as government corruption, farmers' relief, the coal crisis, the tariff, railroad consolidation, disarmament, all were studiously avoided. We are prosperous, so why do anything? This is indeed the age of Calvin Coolidge.

The "wets" are displaying good tactics in trying to secure referendums on the liquor question in various states this fall. A referendum sounds democratic, and thus aligns traditional democratic sentiment on their side. They have nothing to lose, since an adverse vote in a referendum contest could not make the situation any worse from their standpoint than it is today, and thus everything to gain. Furthermore they are avoiding a national referendum, be it noticed, and seeking a show-down at the ballot-box in separate states, and picking "wet" states, like New York, for the display. All this is good tactics, and shows that the "wets" are being led by able generals. But what about the "drys"? Why should they go into such a contest? Personally, we would welcome a nation-wide referendum, as we are confident that the Prohibition advocates would roll up a majority which would stagger the politicians of the Senator Reed and President Butler type. The "drys" have nothing to fear from a popular vote? But what have they to hope from such a vote? What to gain? The "wets" are loudly clamoring that a referendum would settle the question once for all. But *would* it, if the vote went against the liquor cause? Here, by every due process laid down in the Constitution itself, this Constitution has been amended to outlaw intoxicating beverages. But the "wets" pay no attention! Similarly, by every proper and legal method, an act to define and enforce the 18th Amendment, known as the Volstead Act, has been passed by both houses of Congress, signed by the President, and sustained by the Supreme Court. But the "wets" defy the Act, and all the officers of government who undertake to enforce it. This being the case, what assurance is there that the "wets" would recognize, respect and obey the result of a referendum if it went against them? If they have respect neither for Constitution nor statute law, what likelihood is there that they would have respect for an unofficial show of hands at the ballot-box? From this standpoint we understand the refusal of the "drys" to have anything to do with this specious proposal.

We never enjoy being cynical, but we have to confess that we become flatly cynical when people talk about freedom of teaching in this country and declare that laws violating this principle are in conflict with the federal Constitution, and therefore, if enacted, must inevitably be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. We feel like asking rudely, Where do you get this idea? We remember, of course, that the Constitution provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and also, in the First Amendment, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." We realize that most of the legislation being widely and wildly proposed these days regarding evolution, qualifications of teachers, Bible readings, etc., is in violation of these constitutional provisions. But that laws of this kind will be pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court is quite something else again. Let us look at the First Amendment just for a moment! It reads, according to our text-book:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

That sounds fine, doesn't it? But what does it mean in actual practise? What did the phrase—"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press"—mean during the Great War? Nothing at all—*nothing at all!* It was something considerably less than a scrap of paper. The First Amendment makes no exception for war times. It does not

say that "Congress shall make no law . . . except in time of war." It says specifically, precisely, categorically, without qualification, reservation, restriction, or evasion, "Congress shall *make no law.*" Yet Congress made a law, and the Supreme Court had the supreme audacity to declare by unanimous vote that this law was constitutional. When a thing like that can be done, what is there to say? When a situation comes along in the religious field analogous to the war situation in the political field, we may be perfectly sure that no safeguard in the Constitution will amount to anything. A law may be passed requiring a "religious test . . . as a qualification for office," or prohibiting "the free exercise" of religion, and the Supreme Court will find a way of validating it.

The League of Red Cross Societies has recently made a statement which we may well ponder for a time. It is to the effect that, since 1914, war, disaster and famine have taken a toll of 62,000,000 human lives. Of these, 9,000,000 were lost in war (an underestimate, in our opinion!), 6,000,000 in civil strife, 40,000,000 in pestilences, 6,000,000 in famines, and 2,000,000 in earthquakes. In addition, not less than 140,000,000 persons were seriously injured in these same years. The total of dead and injured comprises more than 10 per cent of the world's total population. Now let us ponder these figures for a moment. We boast that ours is the most wonderful age in human history; we have done things man has never done or even dreamed of before. But with what results? We have opened up communication and developed social organization on a scale never hitherto imagined; we have labored for peace and founded innumerable societies for peace; we have covered the world with churches and schools which are the crown and glory of 2,000 years of Christian faith—with the result of a war that killed 9,000,000 human beings, and wounded or injured other scores of millions! The triumphs of medicine today represent one of the supreme achievements of all time; we build new hospitals and laboratories monthly, and conquer new diseases hourly—with the result that, during the last eleven years, 40,000,000 people have perished in world-wide epidemics! We have organized industry on an enormous scale; we produce wealth in incalculable amounts; we have solved the problem of supplying the economic needs of mankind—with the result that, since 1914, 6,000,000 men and women have died miserably of poverty and famine! We have developed the proudest civilization ever builded by the hands or conceived by the minds of men—with the result that more human beings have horribly and violently perished in a shorter period of years than at any time since the days of Noah. What is the use of doing so much, if we accomplish so little? Why climb so high, to fall so low? It's time we had less pride and more penitence. Our age is black disgrace.

Can We Test for Ethical Superiority?

III.

The second test which we shall suggest for the purpose of distinguishing between the ethically superior and inferior person deals with motive which has always been considered as a supremely important element of the good life. Prof. Dewey in his Human Nature and Conduct attacks the old distinction between motive and act as if they were two entirely separate factors, each to be judged independently. He says: "A motive does not exist prior to an act and produce it. It is an act *plus* a judgment upon some element of it, the judgment being made in the light of the consequences of the act."

The newer psychology, especially of the Gestalt School, stresses integration, and departs from the classical method of considering human life divisible into separate sections or categories. This is a wholesome movement, because it tends to make our systems of thought and philosophy follow more closely the realities of our living.

And yet, after the newer psychology has been taken into account, there still remains the apparent fact an act is to be ethically judged by emphasizing its motive and intent, although its overt consequences must never be fatally lost sight of. For instance, the distinction between the culpability of a murderer and an automobilist who accidentally kills a person, still remains somewhat valid although the new view of human nature rightfully stresses the ethical responsibility for the accident, and sometimes exonerates the criminal and mitigates his punishment on the grounds of defective mentality or the dysfunctioning of glands. The act in either case should be considered as a function of a total situation, which includes both inner spring and overt effect, individual and social responsibility. Neither element can be ignored in a true picture of life.

In creating a test for ethical superiority one may emphasize one aspect rather than the other. Therefore it will be allowable to set up for a second norm, a motive aspect of morality, which is as follows: *We are ethically superior persons in proportion as we love the good.* The validity of this principle may best be seen in contrast with some other motives, such as compulsion and fear.

Take as an example of compulsion, the person who

refrains from doing wrong because he is ordered by parent, teacher, or law to do so, and there is sufficient force behind the authority to carry out the absolute command. Grant for the sake of the argument that A wants to steal the property belonging to B, but that he is restrained from so doing by actual physical force, and B surrounds his property by effective safeguards. Does A in this case live an ethical life, in so far as he does not steal? It may be impossible to entirely separate motive from act, and in reality the situation is probably much more complex than this statement makes it seem. For we have to take into account the question as to whether the individual does not give assent to authority and force. Here we find the old problem as to whether a man may be *forced* to do anything against his will. A good case may be made for the position that A, taking the whole situation into account, realizing the strength of the forces against him, *wills* not to steal. But most people will agree that A's act of omission has the minimum of ethical quality in it, although the immediate overt effect in the community may be the same as voluntary restraint. The same may be said of acts of commission which seem to be motivated by outward compulsion.

Another motive which is frequently a causal factor in ethical decisions and acts is fear, which is manifested in many forms.

There is always the fear of physical consequences from the unethical act. A man may be restrained from becoming a drunkard, because he dreads the complete physical deterioration which would set in as a consequence of his excess. He may like alcoholic beverages; he may even like the sensation of mild intoxication; but he may become a complete abstainer from all liquor because he is afraid of indulging himself. Similarly, an individual may restrain himself from a life of indulgence of any sort whatsoever, because he is afraid of the physical consequences in terms of lowered vitality, inefficiency or degeneracy. We would probably rank such a person higher in the ethical scale than the one who acts from outside compulsion, yet most would agree that he has not risen very high in morality if he is kept in the path of decency merely because he is afraid of the physical consequences of self-indulgence.

A second form of fear motive has been frequently used in religion, and is still operative in many minds—the fear of a God of wrath or of stern justice who is always ready to let loose the "lightnings of his terrible swift sword," and condemn man not merely with physical suffering, but with moral and spiritual anathema. In the famous words of the Old Testament "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." There can be no question about the fact that millions of human beings have been held in check by their awe of a supreme ruler of the Universe, who hates evil and who rewards the good. The picture of judgment day has haunted many a man, and has been a frequent theme in religious literature. Unforgetable and truly terrible is the scene in the New Testament where the soul is sent into outer darkness where there is to be "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth." On the other hand is the happiness promised by Egyption Book of the Dead to the righteous: "Let this soul pass on. His heart weighs right in the balance."

A third form of fear, which is universally prevalent is the fear of public opinion and the judgment of neighbors. Thoreau inveighed against the tyranny of "they," and many a man has taken up stout cudgels in behalf of a revolt against the unyielding autocracy of the mass. But despite these courageous voices the great majority of people continue to be motivated by a fear of blame, and a desire for praise. If we were to take this prop away from the structure of moral life, what a crash would ensue! The picture of life lived without fear of public opinion would be so startling that many do not dare to face it. If it were possible to suddenly banish this motive entirely out of existence and then watch a new generation come upon the scene, how much of our present system of ethics would be left? Who knows? But we need not tremble at the possibility, for philosophers and psychologists from the earliest times have shown that fear of blame is one of the most powerful of incentives to living the good, or at least accepted, life.

In all these cases, we undoubtedly have the outward aspects of morality, and the motive is not entirely to be despised, although it does not flatter us to recognize its potency. But surely in none of these instances have we yet reached "the stature of the perfect man." The mere recital of illustrations of these motives leaves a void and causes a protest. We are driven to seek the ethically superior man in other categories.

And thus we come to the test. We are ethically superior, not as we are compelled to omit evil and do good, not as we fear the consequences of wrong-doing, but in proportion as we love the good.

This is the motive which makes the ethically superior man. He embraces justice, not because he is "law honest" or because he fears the police-man, but because he wants to do justice; he lives the clean, self-controlled life, not because he has a horror of loathsome disease, but because of the joy he has in self-mastery and in triumphing over the passions; he lives the honorable life, not merely because he wants credit at the bank, but because his whole life is grounded four-square, "rooted in honor."

It is this love of the good which gives stability to the ethical life. Remove fear from such a person and his standards do not fall. Let public opinion sway with him or against him and he stands upon solid rock. Let storms beat upon him, or fortune fail, and still he lives the good life because deep within him there is the exhaustless spring of love, which everywhere is creative.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

If there is anything in signs and symbols, the Coolidge administration is in a bad way. Thus, on two successive days it was announced that the White House roof was tumbling in, and that the roof of the President's church was threatening to collapse. Mr. Coolidge is in process of flight from both places. Will he not soon be in flight from Washington altogether?

We have it on excellent authority that William Randolph Hearst has recently purchased, and now owns and controls, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Century*, and *McClure's Magazine*. Why do the newspapers say nothing about a momentous event of this kind in the world of journalism?

Portugal has now added herself to the dictatorships established since "the war to make the world safe for democracy." Hungary, Italy, Greece, Spain, Poland! Line forms on the left—no shoving please!

Prof. Harry Allen Overstreet deserves to be added to our list of American personalities. Invited to address a Long Island conference of Women's Clubs, he arrived in time to sit on the platform while the ladies passed a resolution approving the action of a school superintendent in New York who refused to allow a public school auditorium to be used for a meeting in the interest of world peace. A progressive delegate who had spirit enough to represent the minority view was ruled out of order; whereupon Mr. Overstreet arose and read the audience a lecture on fair play—after which he calmly walked out. The ladies must learn that they cannot be on both sides of the fence at one and the same moment.

Italy has loaned 200,000,000 lira to Roumania for submarines and other arms—the same Italy that couldn't possibly repay her debt to the United States, you know! Why not be honest and state the exact fact, which is that Italy in this debt business is just a common, ordinary swindler.

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur boasts that "it costs $12,000, not including the overhead expense, to educate each naval officer." And for what good? This is just one more item in the wanton waste of war.

J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I.

From now on until July 4th and beyond, the United States will resound with many celebrations of the 150th anniversary of interesting events connected with the birth of the nation. President Coolidge has already started in with several speeches, emphasizing the growth and opportunity of the republic. What may have been wanting in the national ego will probably be made good during the next year by calling attention to great principles for which America has stood, possibly be it said with becoming modesty more noticed in celebration than in observance. . . . In his speech on Memorial Day he declared some excellent precepts in regard to peace and war and prosperity, among which were the following: "In spite of all the treaties we may make and the tribunals we may establish, unless we maintain a public opinion devoted to peace we cannot escape the ravages of war," and "The little sentiment of 'live and let live' expresses a great truth," and "A peaceful people will have peace, but a warlike people cannot escape war," and "We seek no revenge, we nurse no grievance, we have inflicted no injuries and we fear no emenies. Our ways are the ways of peace," and "We are in an era of unbounded prosperity. Perhaps no country on earth has greater responsibility than America." Sentiments like these will be frequently expressed during the coming twelve months, and with considerable reason.

Of course, when one recalls some of the "self-evident truths" in which the nation was conceived, "that all men are created equal" and "endowed by their creator with inalienable rights" among which "are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed" he is bound to acknowledge that the nation has frequently not tried "the straight and narrow way" of democracy. The average American remembers that only seventy years ago Negro slavery flourished in the land, and pulpit and press found no difficulty in squaring the nation's practice with her principles. They rarely do. The intelligent American also admits that the war with Mexico which ended by the annexation of quite a slice of new territory and the later war with Spain which had a similar ending were not started or waged in accordance with the early principles—in fact, had no adequate ethical justification. The average American, one is bound to admit, while listening approvingly to the President's peace words, is gratified to hear him also say, "Our country has never had a better equipped army or a more efficient navy in time of peace."

Thinking of the American Revolution of 1776 reminds me that revolutionists must not expect to have it all their own way, especially if their descendants are taken into consideration. A striking figure among the governors is Governor Hartley of Washington. He is running affairs with what the onlooker calls a "high hand." During the first session of the Legislature, after his election, he quite thoroughly boxed the ears of the legislators. He had previously made the social workers of the state look around for a reason for their exist-

ence. And then, things at the state university not going to suit him, he "fired" enough of the Board of Regents to give him a pliant majority. And the merry political war is still on, the governor intimating that he has "just begun to fight." He is making his stand on "good old-fashioned Americanism." What is interesting is this: The governor happens to have been born in New Brunswick, Canada, which was settled in 1783 by refugees fleeing the New England revolutionists. Governor Hartley is a scion of that forced migration. He marks a return of that forced migration—of royalists and loyalists—that is now "bossing" the children of the men who drove his fathers out of the country. It is an illuminating commentary on the ways of human life.

But not all changes in American life are like this. On June 7 Mrs. Bertha Landes assumes the office of the mayoralty of Seattle, the largest city to boast of having a woman mayor. The promises for a successful administration are very bright, but a woman mayor was hardly within the imagination of the men who subscribed to "all men are created equal" and pledged their "sacred honors" and "fortunes" to maintain those principles. Now, the women of America, led by such intrepid fighters as Alice Paul, are moving fast in the direction of absolute equality of rights. They are sure to get them. The men will be lucky if the women—like those long dispossessed—do not get more than equality—to make up for past losses. For there are plenty of women who have read Benjamin Kidd on the "Science of Power" and raise no objection to his conclusion, that the "mind of woman is destined to take the lead in the future of civilization," since the great destructive vices—lust, war, greed, drink, slavery—have been eminently masculine; while the constructive virtues—patience, long-suffering, purity, sacrifice, love—have been eminently feminine. This conclusion of Mr. Kidd's is not overlooked by the women of America. I think that they are certain to occupy all positions in public life, not excepting the presidency. They are reminding themselves that some of the ablest rulers in English history have been women. When I recall that one of my great aunts, a hundred years ago, in New England, was "churched" for wearing some bits of jewelry, I can easily see that it is a long way from then to Mayor Bertha Landes, and infinitely in the right direction of travel. This is the direction the women of America are traveling, and I suspect in other lands, too, and in some lands even faster than in America, *i. e.*, toward absolute equality with men.

II.

Fewer babies die in America now than 150 years ago. The families of the "fathers" were large, but infant mortality was astonishing. If the lowering of infant mortality is a good sign of civilization, then modern man makes a better showing. The rate is high enough now. In America the highest death rate for infants is 90.4 per 1,000 birth, in the state of Maryland. Oregon, with a rate of 51.2, has the lowest. This for the year 1925. Among the cities of more than 100,000 population, Norfolk had the highest infant mortality rate, with 96.7. Seattle had the lowest, with 44.0. The lowering of the death rate among infants in the cities is rightly regarded as a triumph of collective effort.

III.

It is interesting to note where the emphasis of compulsion in the colleges of America is now placed. For many years, daily attendance on chapel exercises was compulsory. Compulsory attendance applied especially to the Sunday services, for the students. A great change has taken place in this respect. The trustees of Dartmouth College voted last year to abolish compulsory chapel. At Yale University, compulsory attendance has recently been lifted. At a recent meeting of 315 college presidents, 136 were for Sunday chapel, 176 against. Week-day chapel, however, won by 220 to 90. It is in the smaller colleges that compulsory chapel still prevails. This tendency, while not perhaps important in itself, is important when taken in connection with the appearance of another kind of compulsion, that of compulsory military drill. Before the war, certain state institutions, due to land grants, were compelled to offer military drill to the students. In the most of them, however, this drill was voluntary. During the war, nearly all the colleges and universities of the land were turned into military institutions. The return to the pre-war basis has been very slow; in fact, it has hardly begun. In nearly every institution, even on religious foundations, there has been a great reluctance on the part of the military part of the nation to allow the compulsory drill to go. A few of the state institutions have given up the R. O. T. C.; a few have made drill voluntary, very few; in the majority of these institutions, drill is compulsory for students (Americans) in, say, the first two years. . . . As a study of American life—having in mind the comparative authority of State and Church—the interesting thing to notice, as I have intimated, is that the emphasis of compulsion in colleges has been shifted from "chapel" to "drill." It is fair to state that the reaction against compulsory military drill in the colleges is growing. Ohio State University, after days of debate among the students and faculty, voted to make the drill voluntary.

To offset this slump in militarism, however, attention should be drawn to the summer military training camps, which now are being pushed as never before. Half of the letters that come to me are stamped with the following cancellation: "LET'S GO. CITIZENS' MILITARY CAMPS." I also get a few pacifist stickers on my letters, but what are these among so many. And with the government's sanction! Boys of high-school age are given a "vacation" in an attractive camp. A "good time" "free of cost," "fine comrades." It is expected that 50,000 of such youth will be in training camps this summer. All the arts of propaganda are resorted to, in order to "put it over." In my last Sunday paper, one of the chain of papers that boast of having 15,000,000 readers, there was a front page interview with Vice-President Dawes, who refers to the "camps" as the "real melting pot of America." He admits that the homes, the churches, the schools, all have their part to play in the training of boys, but for "real Americanism" these camps fill the void. For attaining "democracy of service" there is nothing to compete with the "pup-tent." And to cap the climax, the Vice-President adds that his boy is going to a camp this summer!

IV.

Whither America! There will be a multitude of sermons, editorials, books, during the twelve months. Trotsky may try his hand on the big republic. Bernard Shaw would have something interesting to say on the theme. It is hardly conceivable that militarism, like unto "Prussianism," will get permanent hold. Yet,

Mussolini has many eulogists among people high in position and influence. There are taking place many strange denials of free speech. The color problem raises its head, looking rather ominous at times, and then again better. The Jews are well treated in America. Their power is sufficient to practically eliminate the old "Jew joke" from the press and the stage. On the other hand, the bishops of the Methodist Church held recently a banquet in the city of Washington. It was given to "the bishops." None of the colored bishops were present, since the hotel did not permit colored people to enter its portals. This incident will be recited for fifty years. It was regretted by the bishops themselves, but it was one of those unfortunate happenings that everyone appears to be helpless to prevent. Yet, the Negro is rising very rapidly and claiming his own. Relations between colored and whites are improving yearly. Common sense and decency are prevailing.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

CHAPTER XII

Outcast

With my mother's permission and blessings, I set off exultantly for Bombay, leaving my wife with a baby of a few months. But on arrival there friends told my brother that the Indian Ocean was rough in June and July, and as this was my first voyage, I should not be allowed to sail until November. Some one also reported that a steamer had just been sunk in a gale. This made my brother uneasy and he refused to take the risk of allowing me to sail immediately. Leaving me with a friend in Bombay, he returned to Rajkot to resume his duty. He put the money for my traveling expenses in the keeping of a brother-in-law, and left word with some friends to give me whatever help I might need.

Time hung heavily on my hands in Bombay. I dreamt continually of going to England.

Meanwhile my caste-people were agitated over my going abroad. No Modh Bania had been to England up to now, and if I dared to do so, I ought to be brought to book! A general meeting of the caste was called and I was summoned to appear before it. I went. How I suddenly managed to muster up courage I do not know. Nothing daunted, and without the slightest hesitation, I came before the meeting. The Seth—the headman of the community—who was distantly related to me, and who had been on very good terms with my father, thus accosted me:

"In the opinion of the caste, your proposal to go to England is not proper. Our religion forbids voyages abroad. We have also heard that it is not possible to live there without compromising our religion. One is obliged to eat and drink with Europeans!"

To which I replied: "I do not think it is at all against our religion to go to England. I intend going there for further studies. And I have already solemnly promised to my mother to abstain from the three things you fear most. I am sure the vow will keep me safe."

"But we tell you," rejoined the Seth, "that it is *not* possible to keep our religion there. You know my relations with your father and you ought to listen to my advice."

"I know those relations," said I. "And you are as an elder to me. But I am helpless in this matter. I cannot alter my resolve to go to England. My father's friend and adviser, who is a learned Brahmin, sees no objection to my going to England, and my mother and brother have also given me their permission.

"But will you disregard the orders of the Caste?"

"I am really helpless. I think the Caste should not interfere in the matter."

This incensed the Seth. He swore at me. I sat unmoved. So the Seth pronounced his order: "This boy shall be treated as an outcaste from today. Whoever helps him or goes to see him off at the dock shall be punishable with a fine of one Rupee four annas."

The order had no effect on me, and I took my leave of the Seth. But I wondered how my brother would take it. Fortunately he remained firm and wrote to assure me that I had his permission to go, the Seth's order notwithstanding.

The incident however made me more anxious than ever to sail. What would happen if they succeeded in bringing pressure to bear on my brother? Supposing something unforeseen happened? As I was thus worrying over my predicament, I heard that a Junagadh Vakil was going to England, for being called to the bar, by a boat sailing on the 4th of September. I met the friends to whose care my brother had commended me. They also agreed that I should not let go the opportunity of going in such company. There was no time to be lost. I wired to my brother for permission which he granted. I asked my brother-in-law to give me the money. But he referred to the order of the Seth and said that he could not afford to lose caste. I then sought a friend of the family and requested him to accommodate me to the extent of my passage and sundries, and to recover the loan from my brother. The friend was not only good enough to accede to my request, but he cheered me up as well. I was so thankful. With part of the money I at once purchased the passage. Then I had to equip myself for the voyage. There was another friend who had experience in the matter. He got clothes and other things ready. Some of the clothes I liked and some I did not like at all. The necktie, which I delighted in wearing later, I then abhorred. The short jacket I looked upon as immodest. But this dislike was nothing before the desire to go to England which was uppermost in me. Of pro-

visions also I had enough and to spare for the voyage. A berth was reserved for me by my friends in the same cabin as that of Mr. Trimbakrai Mazmudar, the Junagadh Vakil. They also commended me to him. He was an experienced man of mature age and knew the world. I was yet a stripling of eighteen without any experience of the world. Mr. Mazmudar told my friends not to worry about me.

I sailed at last from Bombay on the 4th of September.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajiwan by M. D.*)

From Far-off America

Some time ago I answered some questions put by a correspondent in America. He now returns to the charge and puts several further questions, the first being:

> What good is that grave and fearless mentality when it cannot save the things you love? You may not be afraid to die, but what is it that will keep a band of robbers from taking away from you what you cherish if you are going to remain non-violent to the end? If the victims of a robber do not offer violent resistance it is so much easier for the robber to loot them. Robbery has been going on and it will go on in the world till the victims are easy. The strong will rob the weak, resistance or no resistance. To be weak is a sin. Not to prepare by all means to get rid of this weakness is a crime.

The writer forgets that retaliation does not always succeed. The robber is likely, if stronger, to defeat the protector and vent his wrath, kindled by the resistance received, on the unfortunate victim whose plight would therefore be the worse for the resistance offered on her behalf. It is true that the protector will have the satisfaction of having done his best for his charge. But the same satisfaction will be available to the non-violent protector. For, he too will die in the attempt to rescue the victim. What is more, he will have the additional satisfaction of having tried to soften the heart of the robber by his pleading. The writer's difficulty arises from the fact of his having assumed that the non-violent protector is to be a mere passive helpless spectator of the robbery. As a matter of fact, however, in my scheme, love is presumed to be a more active and potent force than brute force. He who has not the love and remains passive is a coward. He is neither man nor brute. He has proved himself unfit to protect.

The writer obviously cannot realize, as I have done, the tremendous power that non-violent resistance has over one's adversary. Non-violent resistance is the resistance of one will against another. That resistance is possible only when it is freed from reliance on brute force. Reliance on brute force as a rule presupposes surrender when that force is exhausted. Does the writer know that a woman with a determined will can successfully resist her ravisher however powerful he may be?

I admit that the strong will rob the weak and that it is sin to be weak. But this is said of the soul in man, not of the body. If it be said of the body, we could never be free from the sin of weakness. But the strength of soul can defy a whole world in arms against it. This strength is open to the weakest in body. A weak-willed Zulu, though strong as a giant in body, surrenders to a little white child. Who has not been strong-bodied bullies surrendering helplessly to their frail mothers? Love conquers the brute in the son. The law that subsists between mother and son is universal in its application. Nor need love be reciprocal. It is its own reward. Many a mother has tamed by her love her erring defiant children. Let us all prepare to get rid of the weakness of love. There is chance of success there. For rivalry in loving is conducive to health. The world has been trying all these ages to become strong in the wielding of brute force and it has miserably failed. Rivalry in generating brute force is race suicide.

The writer adds:

> The British rulers seem to have as much soul force as you have, but they have military force and practical knowledge of human nature besides. The result is obvious.

Military force is inconsistent with soul-force. Frightfulness, exploitation of the weak, immoral gains, insatiable pursuit after enjoyments of the flesh are utterly inconsistent with soul-force. The soul-force that the British rulers have is therefore subservient to the brute force if it is not asleep altogether.

The writer then puts the eternal conundrum:

> There are certain greedy persons in the world and they are doing mischief. They have power in their hands. They may be mad, but they are doing harm nevertheless. It will not do for us to stand by with folded hands and let them go on with their devilish work. We must take the power away from them even at the cost of non-violence, so that they may not do any more harm.

History teaches one that those who have, no doubt with honest motives, ousted the greedy by using brute force against them, have in their turn become a prey to the disease of the conquered. If it be better to be slaves than slave-drivers, if this is no mere copy-book maxim, we can easily afford to let the slave-drivers do their worst, whilst, being weary of the brutal tug of war, so unbefitting our human nature, we try to explore the possibilities of matching the brute force of the greedy exploiters and the like with soul force.

But the writer is met with this difficulty at the threshold of the experiment:

> Mahatmaji, you admit that the people of India have not followed your creed. You do not seem to realize the cause of it. The truth is that the average person is not a Mahatma. History proves this fact beyond doubt. There have been a few Mahatmas in India and elsewhere. These are exceptions. And the exceptions only prove the rule. You must not base your actions on the exceptions.

It is curious how we delude ourselves. We fancy that one can make the perishable body impregnable and we think it impossible to evoke the hidden powers of the soul. Well, I am engaged in trying to show, if I have any of these powers, that I am as frail a mortal as any of us and that I never had anything extraordinary about me nor have any now. I claim to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough in me to confess my errors and to retrace my steps. I own that I have an immovable faith in God and His goodness and unconsumable passion for truth and love. But is that not what every person has latent in him? If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history. We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors. If we may make new discoveries and inventions in the phenomenal world, must we declare our bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule? Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all?

Young India. *M. K. Gandhi.*

Thoughts on Permanent Peace in China

A truce is other than peace. Temporary peace is far from what the people want, namely, permanent peace. In China ever since the Revolution there have been frequent battles, one Chinese army arrayed against another, according to the behests of different military leaders. There has also been again and again cessation of fighting, surrender of troops, withdrawal of troops, terms of armistice, professions of restored friendship, and one temporary peace following another. But there has been no disarmament, the Chinese armies increase rather than decrease, and intrigues go on for further fighting. Now as ever there is no national unification, no guarantee of permanent peace. The harassed people of China, the farmers, traders, travellers, teachers, students, and even officials, all live in fear of more trouble, and another outbreak, with further confusion and national disgrace and disaster.

The question remains, "Is permanent peace a Chinese possibility?" I answer unhesitatingly, "Yes; certainly as possible for the Chinese as for Americans, British, French, Germans, Russians or Japanese."

On what, then, can permanent peace in China be based? From observation of the temper of mind, the habits and force of circumstances, in China as in other countries, I venture with my usual audacity to make a few suggestions. What I write is not so much from a foreign point of view as out of interest in the Chinese nation.

(1.) First of all, the Chinese, just like other people, need to be instructed that warfare is ruinous and is an out-and-out waste. I will not here argue that it is a sin, neither do I wait for war to be made an illegality. I simply hold the view of ordinary thinking that war *per se,* whatever the excuses offered by either side, is utter folly. When the Chinese in 1917 were plead with to enter the European war and were promised that untold blessings would be theirs, and Tuan Chi-jui, the present Chief Executive, who was then the Premier, followed hard after the illusion, China adopted the military system, strengthened the hands of the War Lords and forthwith applied warfare to her own internal conditions. If one in those tragic days pooh-poohed this war progaganda, he was dubbed treacherous, disloyal, unpatriotic, insane and without all virtue. I belonged to this unsavory class. The Chinese heeded the claims of the great majority, but, as it has proved, to their own ruination.

Not one of the internal wars that have since taken place has proved a blessing, rather they have all been a curse. If heretofore the foreigner has taught the Chinese the ways of war, let him now turn about—let him repent—and teach them the glory, the wisdom, the virtue of concord and peace, of law and order. Perhaps there have been some who have ceased to denounce war, merely because some soldiers and officers are Christian. Where the instruction came from I do not know but sad and strange was the scene last year when the graduating class at Tsinghua College, founded by funds from the American portion of the Boxer indemnity, made a gun the symbol of the class and through their spokesman hurled defiance at certain foreign nations. One reason for the retention of the military system in China is that it is a money-making system.

An accurate and comparative valuation of war measures and peace measures will help to make peace a permanent factor in Chinese life.

(2.) Along with this instruction the Chinese need also to be taught that as a rule all revolutions, which mean the shedding of blood, killing and internal strife, work harm and no good. If this is too extreme a statement, I will modify by this assertion that political reform can be better brought about by peaceful and legal means than by bloody revolution. When the first revolution was going forward in 1911 and 1912, I was again in the minority. I argued that a limited, constitutional monarchy, free from antocracy, as then existed, better conformed to Chinese traditions than an attempt at a republic modeled after the West or even the United States. I depreciated the overthrow of authority, as it then extended through the length and breadth of the Empire, and the ushering in of chaos. I declared that revolution was like an epidemic; it was a contageous infection, and hard to check or cure.

Most of the civil strife that has since taken place has been in the spirit and of the character of revolution, or, in other respects, of rebellion. Chaos has increased. Law and authority, loyalty and fidelity, respect and brotherliness, have declined. The nation is far more subversive of all rule and divisive in spirit than it was, say, as I personally knew it, from 1882 to 1911. Inperceptibly the Chinese have imbibed, also from certain foreigners, the idea of a "world revolution" and have cast to the winds the true principles taught by their own sages. The revolutionary spirit, process and supposed utility as shown in 1911 have still a hold on the Chinese nation. Restraint rather than encouragement in this dangerous tendency will, I judge, be truer to Chinese tradition, Western enlightenment and Christian ideals; here is the task for all who would teach China national strength and political progress.

(3.) If war and revolution are poor tools for shaping peace and order, then on the positive side the Chinese, just like the people of every other country, should try to cultivate and consummate some kind of an orderly, responsible government. Personally I do not much care what may be the form of government best suited the Chinese, or who be the head and what his title, so long as there is a real government and the government is orderly and recognized by the nation. Without an orderly government permanent peace is impossible.

If the government of China is to observe law and order and *have* law and order, a study must be made of the questions: What is law? what is order? when is law good and just and when bad and unjust? when is order in accordance with law and when is it arbitrary and oppressive?

Other questions also arise needing serious consideration: If China must have a liberal government before it can have peace and union, what does the word "liberal" signify? Does it mean liberty or license? Is liberty restricted by regulations or can each man, each general, each military governor and each province all do as they please? If a good government must be constitutional, what constitution does China have? which of her several constitutions will be binding, so far as it is accepted by the majority? If the government and the people are to go on without a constitution, can the government be called a liberal government or an orderly government? Can there be a republic without a constitution? and can a people claim democracy while disclaiming the binding force of a constitution?

One step further: Can either a constitutional monarchy or a constitutional republic go on without a representative parliament and without provincial assemblies? The last year of the monarchy they were found in existence; the present year of the republic they either do not exist, or they fail to have power or represent the people.

I ask these questions because they have a bearing on national peace and order. One way for China to have peace is for the military leaders to agree not to wage war on each other. Another and better way is for them and all to join forces to establish a real orderly government, whether they are in it or not, and agree to support and defend such government. Without some such patriotic object in mind, peace and national unity will be hard to attain.

(4) Having made a beginning at an orderly government, the Chinese need in legal phraseology, to *qualify,* in order to ward off future discord and warfare.

(a) The Chinese now as in the past need to submit to the better reason or *li,* rather than resort to arms in case of dispute. Differences of opinion are inevitable; satisfactory settlement can be best reached by open, free, and at the same time legitimate expression of opinion. In the past the Chinese have excelled by their readiness to listen to reason; this habit only needs to be continued, in order to facilitate overtures of peace.

(b) Peace can best result by an agreement to abide by a legal majority. For centuries in local communities in China, where democracy has always existed, this rule of the majority has been taken for granted. The principle now needs to be applied to the nation.

(c) The rights and security of the minority also need to be conserved. This is a new idea for the Chinese to learn, just as in some countries of the West it has also to be learned. Opposition of a minority or of some other faction should not be taken as counter-revolution or as a reason for raising troops and going to war. In a truly liberal government, opponents are not imprisoned or assassinated or their property expropriated. If the Chinese are protected by a liberal government through due process of law, there will be plenty of foreigners to offer allegiance.

(d) The Chinese should be encouraged in true and safe nationalism. The thought should center on the nation, not as a province or a particular locality or group or individual. Appeal to selfishness and avarice should cease. The glory, prosperity and peace of China—what an inspiring object! To do nothing to create confusion or disturb the peace—how smoothly the wheels of government will then run! The greater the ideal, the less likely will even the greatest of militarists resort to warlike measures.

(5) When the Allied Powers proceeded to make the Versailles Treaty with Germany and other treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey in a dictatorial and unilateral way, eliminating all negotiation with representatives of the conquered nations, the result was not peace in form or spirit. It was not until six years had passed that at Locarno the representatives of Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy could meet face to face and talk over their common problems and the desire for mutual security.

If a German and a Frenchman can thus meet each other and agree with others on a reciprocal contract, how much easier ought it to be for the factional leaders in China, men of the same country and with the same inheritance, to meet together and devise measures for the common welfare of a common country. As a rule, I have noticed that it is easier for Orientals who have offended each other or dislike each other to meet each other with courtesy than it is for Occidentals. I have also noticed that when the Chinese are concerned in a dispute, they are wont to use subsidiary agents for first making a tentative proposal before they themselves meet together to make the final decision. Even foreigners have used this method; of Locarno, the "Times" says: "The Locarno treaties were the result of eight months' quiet preparatory work before the eleven days of negotiation at Locarno."

When Sir Robert Hotung in 1924 proposed a round-table conference of all military and factional leaders, I had great hopes that the proposal would succeed. There were only two to refuse assent, President TS'ao Kun and Marshal Wu Pei-fu. Instead, in 1924, Marshal Wu launched his "fight to the finish," which came to naught. I have not abandoned my faith in the practicability of Sir Robert Hotung's main idea. Lately I have read in the Chinese papers that Marshal Wu Pei-fu, with reference to a settlement of the present turmoil, has stated that in a conference to be held all sides should be represented. At the same time he has insisted on elimination of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang and General Lu Tsunglin. Having also once fought for the overthrow of Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and the Anfu clique, when Marshal Chang Tso-lin was his associate in arms, it is doubtful if today Marshal Wu would include Marshal, now Chief Executive, Tuan. And yet if Marshals Wu and Chang can at times cooperate, why may not the two cooperate with Marshal Tuan at this most critical time?

When Marshal Tuan Chi-jui came forth from retirement to head a provincial government, a Commission for Reorganization was formed. This commission had a fair semblance of representation from all the factions, though not of course from the people. It indicated what would be possible if all could preserve a certain amount of patience and forbearance.

What I most earnestly urge is that though it be deemed desirable that certain persons absent themselves, *no faction should be eliminated in such a conference of national issues.*

Considering that China is larger than Europe, it may be that sectional conferences and agreements, if they be agreements of concord and peace, should preclude a national conference. And yet, if in the last year of the Manchu Dynasty a National Council with delegates from every province and the outlying territory could assemble in Peking, why is such an assemblage impossible today under a republic? Does democracy hamper all union and centralization, or is it rather the truth that the Chinese, while understanding revolution, have not yet learned the significance of having a republic?

The task of nationalizing peace in a country like China is indeed a tremendous one. There are difficulties on every side. What gives us hope is that peace is now a longing of the nation. The millions who foot the bill want war no more. Many, many of the best thinkers in China are today directing their thoughts to peace; peace, moreover, that will be permanent and not the transient light on a cloudy day.

The International Institute, GILBERT REID.
Peking, China.

The Study Table

A Note on Philippine Schoolbooks

When, in 1908, I visited Philippine schools, heard classes, talked with pupils, conversed with teachers, I was impressed with the need that existed for real text books, adapted to local needs and calculated to make an appeal to experience of the children. Many books then in use could not attract, often could not be understood. Not only was instruction given through a foreign language, with a totally new cast of thought and expression; the material conveyed was completely outside the comprehension and experience of the learner. A much stressed bit of literature at the moment was Whittier's *Snow Bound!* The poem is all right in itself and for us: but what appeal could it make to a Filipino child?

The problem was, and is, a serious one. We have dealt with it as we could and have made some headway. The last report of the Bureau of Education prints a list of textbooks now used in the schools. I have been interested in examining many of them to see how they meet the need.* The ideal condition would be that all textbooks should be by Filipino teachers, that they should treat all subjects from a local standpoint, that they should so deal with things as to fit in with the Philippine child's experience and surroundings, and that they should be published by Philippine publishing houses in the Islands. This ideal condition is not yet realized and it will be a long time before it is attained.

We were rather slow in realizing the opportunity the Islands offered. Now, however, we have grasped it. Today the leading textbook publishers vie with each other in the effort to have their books introduced into the Philippine field. Personal representatives are sent to Manila to push the claims of their texts. It is a growing field; there is a steady demand. And it will be a long time before local publishers will be at all equal to the occasion. At the beginning, the condition was chaotic. Anything was used that could be found. There was a veritable scramble to get out something that would meet the exigency of the moment. Among the early attempts was the series of "1001 questions." There were eleven of them covering a wide range of subjects. They were useful little books, sold at a small price. They sold like hot cakes. Filipino boys devoured them. At first in paper covers, they were soon issued in more substantial binding. They were in the catechism style of question and answer, what three hundred and fifty years of Spanish Catholic control had made familiar to Filipino youth. One can pick out choice bits of information from them—such as "What is the second largest city in the United States? Chicago, the capital of Illinois, on Lake Michigan." They had an enormous sale and must have been highly profitable. They undoubtedly did much to meet the hunger and thirst for knowledge that so greatly marked the Filipinos at the time.

*World Book Company.—Barrow: History of the Philippines. Bonsall-Mercer: Arithmetics (six numbers). Bowen: Old Time Stories. Chadwick-Freeman: Chain Stories and Playlets. Copeland: Elements of Philippine Agriculture. Fernandez: Philippine Historical Stories. Hodgson: Map of the Philippines. Ledyard: Philippine Animal Life. McGoveney: Stories of Long Ago in the Philippines. Orosa: The Sulee Archipelago and Its People. Osias: Barrio Life and Barrio Education. Purcell: Philippine Picture-Word Book. Philippine Primer. Theobald: The Filipino Teacher's Manual.

American Book Company.—Coe Christie: Story Hour Readers (four numbers). Hartwell: Story Hour Readers (three numbers). Finch: Every Day Civics. Elson: Modern Times and the Living Past.

The first American publishing house to seriously enter the field and to try to supply adequate textbooks was probably the World Book Company. There were personal reasons why Caspar Hodgson was interested. In some directions the company was an actual pioneer. One teacher who left a marked impression on Philippine students was Edgar M. Ledyard. His *Animal Life* was a remarkable meeting of a situation. Education in the Islands had been a matter of rote learning; children were accustomed to learn authoritative statements, "by heart." Nothing was known of scientific method. Ledyard brought high school boys into contact with real things and made them develope independence in observation and expression. The list of the World Book Company's publications is a long one. We have from time to time noticed some of them in these columns. Many of them we have never seen. Their list includes readers, arithmetics, history, science, government and education. David P. Barrows' *History of the Philippines* was the first of its kind in English and remains the best book for American readers and pupils. Hodgson's *Map of the Philippines* is probably the best on the market.

In response to our request the American Book Company sent a parcel of nine handsome books—seven readers, a civics and a general history. These are all used in the Philippines and are "but a few" of those they publish, which are so used. They are no doubt well suited to American schools. None of them have been "adapted" to Philippine use, except that the Philippine edition of Every Day Civics contains "the Jones Law" at the end.

The John C. Winston Company sends us four books intended for Philippine Schools. We confess to some disappointment over their *Rizal Readers,* of which there are two. The cover decorations are suitable—one showing Filipino children gathering at school, the other a monument of José Rizal. Both have, as color frontispieces, portraits of Rizal. The Primer contains little else that smacks of the Philippines: the First Reader contains a little folk-lore, a brief article upon Rizal, and some pictures with local color. Their *Better English for speaking and writing* seems to me to be an extremely good book. Mr. Romulo, Filipino, is connected with the University of the Philippines, while Miss Netzorg was a teacher of English in the Manila High School. Their book contains many attractive and pertinent pictures, some reproducing the work of Filipino artists. An excellent feature is selections for reading and memorizing. These have been selected by the well known Filipino scholars, Pardo de Tavera, and include many pieces from Filipino authors. *The History of the United States* is an adaptation of Smith Burnham's book. The "revision" by Carmen Aguinaldo Melencio is not extensive. As Prof. Burnham says: "A few comparatively slight changes were needed to adapt the book for use in the Philippine schools. These have been made by Mrs. Carmen Aguinaldo Melencio, who has also added a number of questions especially for Philippine children."

John C. Winston Company.—The Rizal Readers (two numbers). Romulo-Netzorg: Better English for Speaking and Writing. Burnham-Melencio: A History of the United States.

The books put out by Ginn and Company are high grade. They are Philippine in all but place of publication. They consist of six Philippine Readers by Camilo Osias and *A Brief History of the Philippines* by Leandro H. Fernandez. The readers form a well graded series. The contents are largely from Philippine sources; the children in the pieces have Filipino names; what matter is drawn from outside fits in well with the rest. Here are description, narrative, folk-lore, biography, history and fiction—all within range of the Filipino child's experience or comprehension. Osias is a Filipino who took his A. M. degree in this country. He is a well known educator, long with the Bureau of Education, of which he was for a time assistant director. He is now president of the National University, a private institution in Manila. Fernandez' *History* is an excellent piece of work. It is interestingly written, adequate in scope and treatment, admirably illustrated. Here again is an author who has taken advanced study in the United States. Covering the same ground, but written by a Filipino, it is a better work for Philippine schools than Dr. Barrows' History, admirable though it is.

Benj. N. Sanborn and Company have a number of books that are used in the Philippine schools. Most of them are used primarily in the United States. The famous Stone-Millis Arithmetics have been recast for Philippine use. The revision has been made by Mrs. Eva Grant Winkel, once a supervisor of Philippine primary schools. She has done her work thoroughly and well. The *Stone-Winkel Arithmetics*, two in number, are excellently suited to their purpose.

We find it hard to speak in terms of moderation of the two readers published by the MacMillan Company, known as the *Philippine Literature Series*. They are truly beautiful books. The covers are stamped with designs that will attract and delight little Filipinos. The authors are Harriott Ely Fansler and Isidoro Panlasiqui, both teachers in the University of the Philippines. The contents are purely Filipino and, while interesting, will instruct both directly and indirectly. Of this material the authors say: "In the two books, then, eighteen real Filipino stories and forty-seven real Filipino poems, arranged in order of difficulty and supplied with a vocabularly scientifically selected present not only a graded course in easy reading but also an acceptable body of true Filipino literature in the National language." The books are well illustrated with pictures that are distinctively Filipino in thought and execution.

Thus are we meeting a really serious problem, the difficulties of which were not fully foreseen. The textbooks we are using in the Philippines are many and varied. Some of them are totally unsuited to use there; some of the attempted adaptations are failures, or but moderate successes; such books as the *Philippine Literature Series, Better English for Speaking and Writing, The Philippine Readers* by Osias, the *Stone-Winkel Arithmetics* and *A Brief History of the Philippines* by Fernandez are high-grade books that deserve commendation.

FREDERICK STARR.

Correspondence

Appreciations from New Subscribers

Editor of UNITY:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I send in this subscription to UNITY. The desire to make Gandhi's life and work more widely known is altogether laudable and necessary. He represents so much that is of value to us in the present state of affairs that the more the forward-looking people know about him the better for the future of our world.

I want, also, to express my appreciation of the work that you personally are doing. I have not had the pleasure of meeting you or of knowing at first hand of your work, but from friends of mine who are familiar with that work, and from the expositions of the work that have come from your pen I know that I make no mistake when I say that upon such work we must depend for the future of religion. The real worth of religion is to be conserved by the elimination of all the senseless and confusing mass of superstition and bigotry which have grown up to choke out the truth. We must revise religion and employ a different technique. Gandhi, with his spirit of self-sacrifice and his clear-sighted study of essentials and, supremely, his sincere application of those essential principles, brings cheer to weary winds.

THEODORE W. DARNELL.

George School, Pa.

Gentlemen:—Enclosed find $3.00 for renewal as per your request. We can really ill afford three dollars just at this juncture, but could still less afford to do without UNITY. It speaks for us—it is our silent selves made articulate. Long live UNITY!

L. W.

Ginn and Company.—Osias: **The Philippine Readers** (six numbers). Fernandez: **A Brief History of the Philippines.**

Benj. H. Sanborn and Company—Stone-Winkel Arithmetics. (Two numbers.)

The MacMillan Co.—Fansler-Panlasiqui. **Philippine National Literature** (two numbers).

Editor of UNITY:

I sent you $1.00 for UNITY during the story of Gandhi. I find that this magazine is very much worth while and am enclosing $2.00 to pay one year's subscription.

I. F. BAKER.

El Monte, Cal.

Editor of UNITY:

I have just finished reading the article of Edwin D. Mead on Descendants and Ancestors. It is the finest thing I have read for a long time. It is the cleanest and keenest defense of the much-maligned and misunderstood Pacifist I have ever seen. Its portrayal of over-wrought hysterical nationalism is so timely. Its exposition of "Cod-fish Aristocracy" is so just and wholesome. I could wish that this article might be sown broadcast all over the country.

I subscribed for the Unity to get the autobiography of Gandhi, but if you keep up that class of articles I shall be compelled to be a permanent subscriber.

W. W. TROUT.

Methodist Episcopal Church,
Williamsport, Ohio.

Who Finances the Wets?

Editor of UNITY:

Just read your comments on Wet and Dry hearing in Washington. I presume *appetite* has something to do with the energy of the Wets, but I would like to know just where the vast amount of money came from and who the real leaders are in putting over the late drive of the Wets. It is my humble opinion that if the beer and wine was to be furnished at *cost of production* and all private profit eliminated there would be very little heard about it ever more.

Probably the "big interests" want the old profits formerly theirs legally, now going into the pockets of the bootleggers, big and little. "*Money*, root of all evil."

With very best wishes.

HARVEY T. WING.

Arlington, Mass.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion."

CONFERENCE ON NARCOTIC EDUCATION

Advance prospectus and tentative program of world conference on narcotic education, Philadelphia, July 5th to 10th, 1926.

Purpose

To organize the agencies of society to combat the menace of Narcotic Drug Addiction through education.

Origin

The conference was called by the Board of Directors of the International Narcotic Education Association at their meeting in Los Angeles, California, May 12, 1925.

Backed by Public Opinion

Letters from more than 1200 leaders in all parts of America, with scarcely a discordant note, reveal overwhelming public sentiment in this country behind the Conference. We believe a similar interest to exist in all civilized countries as indicated in Article VII of the Agreement of the First Opium Conference of the League of Nations at Geneva, which reads in part as follows: "The contracting powers shall use their utmost efforts by suitable instruction in the schools, etc."

Status

Invitations to governments and organizations are going out rapidly. On December 16th, 1925, the Committee on Education of the U. S. House of Representatives reported unanimously in favor of H. J. Res. 65 for the appropriate participation of the United States Government, etc., and on December 21st, 1925, the House of Representatives with unanimity passed the Resolution. The matter is pending in the Senate in S. J. 27 with early passage assured.

The world is familiar with the old problem of opium addiction that, in expanding slowly through generations, is playing now such an important part in the destiny of the peoples of the Orient. Few are aware that the new problem of heroin addiction, expanding with incredible swiftness, is now menacing the integrity of western nations. Official estimates place at nearly 200,000 the number of addicts in New York City constituting 60% of all inmates of correctional institutions, nearly all heroin addicts, averaging about 22 years of age. The development of the synthetic manufacture of narcotic drugs makes the western problem independent of the eastern, and constitutes narcotic addiction a major, universal problem—a veritable environment of peril from which the human race through organized education must acquire immunity under penalty of social disaster and death.

To overcome the lack of public knowledge resulting from extreme secretiveness of the victims and the activities of addiction, and to focus attention and thought upon the subject, a series of competitive awards, expressed by medals and money, are planned for youth and adults through theses, essays, cartoons and studies in all fields, the youth dealing with the peril of narcotic drug addiction, the adults with the data, agencies and the methods of narcotic education.

II
Delegates

Official delegates are to represent:

(a) Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches of governments; Imperial and National governments; Provincial and State governments and Municipal governments.

(b) Organizations:

Delegates are apportioned as follows: Imperial and National governments 1/10th; Provincial and State governments 1/10th; Municipal governments 1/5th. Total for all governments 2/5ths—estimated at 2,000. Central organizations and major branch organizations 3/5ths. Total estimated at 3,000. Total number of delegates estimated 5,000.

The meetings in the Exposition Auditorium are to be open to the public; seating capacity 20,000. Meetings of committees and special groups are to be held in the ballroom and conference rooms of the headquarters hotel—the Bellevue-Stratford. General Conference meetings, morning, afternoon and evening are to be held in the Academy of Music, July 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and on July 9th in the Exposition Auditorium.

III
Tentative Program

The first two days are to be devoted to the Data for Narcotic Education; the last three days to the Agencies and Methods of Narcotic Education; the first day, to the history, philosophy, and sociology of Narcotic Drug Addiction, including economics, featuring criminology; the second day to scientific data proper, the chemistry of Narcotic Drugs, bio-chemistry, biology, toxicology, pharmacology, physiology, pathology; psychology, psychiatry; specializing bio-chemistry, pathological physiology and psychology; the third day to General Agencies in Narcotic Education, the Home, the Church, the press, the screen, business and industry, clubs, fraternal orders, associations, organizations, etc.; the fourth day to Special Agencies, Narcotic Education in primary education, Narcotic Education in secondary education, Narcotic Education in higher education; the fifth day to Governments in Narcotic Education, National and Imperial governments, State and Provincial governments and Municipal governments.

IV
Prizes and Awards

Prizes and awards are planned for local, regional and national competitions in America and other lands and world competitions, all to be financed by business and industry. Major awards to be featured at Philadelphia World Conference.

Prizes in schools, (including normal, parochial and private schools)—Among teachers for best essays and papers on Narcotic Education; among pupils, classed by grades, for the best essays and cartoons on the Peril of Narcotic Drug Addiction; all under direction of education authorities, public parochial, private.

Prizes in colleges and universities, (including post graduate institutions and laboratories)—among professors for best theses, essays and papers on Narcotic Education; among students by classes for the best essays on the Peril of Narcotic Drug Addiction, all under direction of the institutional authorities.

Prizes for parents—For the best essays or papers on home instruction for children and youth, under direction of Parent-Teacher Associations.

Prizes in churches—Among Catholic priests on the best methods of narcotic education in Catholic churches; among Protestant ministers on the best methods of Narcotic Education in Protestant Churches.

Prizes for:

(a) The Press—among writers for the best single article and for the best series of articles suitable for newspapers; for the best single article and for the best series of articles suitable for periodicals.

Protest to President Coolidge!

Editor of UNITY:

At the recent Boston meeting of the "Association to Abolish War," it was voted that the Secretary send to President Coolidge and to the Postmaster-General a protest against the use of the cancellation stamp on mail: "Let's Go! Citizens' Military Training Camps!" We objected especially to the use of those words on mail to foreign countries.

Our protests were referred to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General for answer. He has written that foreign-going mail is not separated from domestic mail until after the cancellation process, that many millions of our people do not agree with the opinion that "by giving publicity to the Training Camps the Government is fostering a spirit of militarism," and that the P. O. Department "will continue to operate these special dies until June 30, 1926"; that is, until the camps begin their work for this season.

Doubtless many millions of our people oppose the use of the mails in propaganda for the War Department. They should be heard from now. Will you at once ask the readers of your paper to send their individual protests to President Coolidge?

After a "war to end war" our government proclaims to the world, on the letters our people write, suspicion and fear of other nations! What else can foreign peoples infer from a general exhortation to our citizens to learn the art of collective homicide?

"Goose-step Day," euphemistically called "Defense Day," has perished from the calendar and the mourners are few. A like fate should befall the militaristic cancellation stamp. President Coolidge can stop the use of it by a word. He will say that word if the peacemakers of this country unite in asking him.

HENRY W. PINKHAM, Secretary.

Brookline, Mass.

Live Dangerously—But Know How

The tragedy of the human race is not over-eating so much as wrong combinations. A good meal can be spoiled by a glass of milk, and not only is your money wasted but you suffer indigestion. Read the HEALTH MESSENGER, the only magazine teaching the science of Iriology or How to Tell Your Own Condition by Studying the Colors of the Human Eyes. The smallest and snappiest health journal published today, the rebel of the healing world, 25 cents a copy, $1.50 a year.

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(b) The Screen—for the best educational scenarios for schools and churches and for the best general scenario for the public.

(c) The Authors—for the best text book on Narcotics; the best chapters for text books—in primary, secondary and higher education; for the best romance, suitable for popular fiction and screen purposes, with narcotic features.

(d) Artists for the best paintings, sketches and cartoons illustrating the peril of Narcotic Drug Addiction.

Prizes for organizations, among members of clubs, fraternal orders, associations, etc., for the best articles on the methods of cooperation of organizations in Narcotic Education.

Prizes for Research:

(a) Special award for best results in statistical research in criminology and economics.

(b) Special award for best results of research on the bio-chemistry of narcotic drugs.

(c) Special award for best results of research in the psychology and psychiatry of heroin addiction.

(d) Grand award for best world scheme, plans and program for permanent universal narcotic education to attain and maintain immunity for society against the peril of narcotic drug addiction.

The scale of the plans for prizes and awards will be contingent upon the degree of support from the business world, where funds are being sought.

V

Method of Cooperation

Every government, Imperial, National, State, Municipal, every university and other institution and every organization and association is urged to appoint a committee to work out the best way their government, institution or organization can contribute to the effectiveness of the conference and to the creation and operation of the permanent World Scheme to come out of the Conference.

Advance headquarters, Room 192-A House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Conference headquarters, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia.

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